

PEACE NEWS

No. 277

OCTOBER 3, 1941

2d.

DAY-BY-DAY STRUGGLE

PPU Headquarters lives from hand to mouth. This is an intolerable situation. The staff has been drastically reduced; and all who are familiar with the work of those who remain know that any further reduction of their activities would be disastrous. A movement such as ours cannot function without an adequate central organization; it is a vital necessity. Yet, in the nature of things, its appeal is not spectacular. It takes imagination to realize how imperative it is that the work should not be hampered or curtailed by a sense of insecurity. But ours is a movement rich in imagination; and our readers will respond to the need of raising a decent cash-balance with which Headquarters can meet its day-to-day necessities. The figure to be reached is £1,000. Send your contributions, plainly marked "Headquarters Fund," to this address: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

The contributions to the Fighting Fund for the week amounted to £18 16s. 2d. making the total £2,628 14s. 3d.

The Editor.

Ready For The Next War?

A FORECAST that the civil defence services would be continued after the war was made by Mr. William Mabane, Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security, at Cardiff last Thursday.

"It is clear from the Atlantic Charter," he said, "that until the world has reached a far greater degree of political stability than we have known hitherto those nations that desire peace must remain in a position to preserve it."

"It does appear to me that after the war we shall certainly not be able to abandon our civil defence organization. We shall be able to transform it into an army not standing but trained and at call—a necessary and proper supplement to the armed Forces."

RECRUITING FOR PEACE IN U.S.

A nation-wide drive for five million new members, already gaining momentum in some parts of America; and

A "Referendum Day" in every district to give Americans a chance to vote on the question of staying out of, or entering, the war

are among the plans of the America First Committee in its campaign to keep America out of all foreign wars.

The rate at which new members are joining this body is itself significant. In one day, 256 were enrolled in Denver. Chicago membership was well over the 200,000-mark early in July, while at the same time the metropolitan area of New York contained some 80,000 members, increasing at the rate of 500 to 1,000 a day. In one week, 68 "chapters" (branches) were organized in 22 States.

Captain Cunningham-Reid, MP, stated in Parliament on September 11 that the America-First Committee "has during the last month increased its membership from 10,450,000 to just over 15,000,000...all paying members."

The "Referendum Day" proposal follows the example of Congressman Hamilton Fish who (as we reported last week) put the idea into practice in his own constituency.

Britain's Leadership

By WILFRED WELLOCK

FOR 22 years Britain has been making history with blind eyes. The tragic significance of that fact is that those 22 years constitute one of the most critical periods in history.

Since the close of the Great War, and during years in which Britain occupied a dominating position in world affairs and had it in her power to lead the nations into healthier and happier relations, she pursued policies which hastened the disintegration of the old order, with a disregard of the future which revealed her ignorance of the role she was playing.

The Power politics of the last two or three decades have at last succeeded in placing the greater part of the world on an avalanche. Today events are moving with a momentum which no-one seems able to control. The conditions which produced Hitler are leading Europe toward a goal which nothing Britain seems likely to do will be able to change.

Accordingly, from now on we may expect the conduct of statesmen, of political parties, social groups, and classes, to assume more and more the character of panic, precisely at the moment, that is to say, when fundamental thinking and a calm facing of the facts, and even more of the demands these make, are the supreme need.

Had Britain, at any time during these last two decades, put one-thousandth part of the effort, the wealth, the sacrifice, the courage she is putting into this war into the task of revolutionizing the social order in Britain itself and rationalizing international relations, we should now be organizing a fête to celebrate the social achievements and the unity of Europe instead of wading through seas of blood to a European revolution.

THE crazy, suicidal nature of capitalist civilization is revealed nowhere so strikingly as in its refusal to expend for social and world betterment, the energies, the wealth, the science, and the genius it will expend with bewildering prodigality in wars which are ostensibly waged, and believed by the common people verily to be waged, for such betterment.

The truth of the matter is that in due course wars are the only means whereby capitalism can see any hope of escape from an economic impasse of its own creation. That hope, however, proves to be an illusion when the point is reached when the contradictions which are inherent in capitalism threaten society with collapse, and give rise to iconoclasm, revolution, and dictatorship.

Iconoclastic totalitarianism is a form of social revolution; it cannot avoid social revolution since social breakdown brings it into being. Good as well as bad elements are certain to be embodied in that revolution, while many of its innovations will endure because they are necessary to the better functioning of society.

In view of the fact that iconoclasm, owing to the blindness and folly of capitalist democracy, has taken the field, one of our immediate duties is to recognize the good and necessary elements in its revolution, and try to use them to better purpose. The point, at any rate must be conceded, that when iconoclasm takes control, advance thereafter must be through totalitarian socialism to democracy, and not via a return to capitalism.

THAT cardinal fact capitalist Britain has so far failed to grasp, and unless she does grasp it her in-

fluence on Europe will either be negligible or misguided and then disastrous.

I am fully alive to the evils in Hitler's new order in Europe, but I maintain that we ought to distinguish between the Nazi economic technique,

COMMENTARY

That Optimism Again!

BY their encirclement of several of Budyenny's armies in the Ukraine the Germans claim to have captured 674,000 Russian troops. Even if the figures were halved, they would indicate a very serious defeat indeed. And the Russian strategy of continuous large-scale retreat is very costly not merely in men, but—more important in the case of Russia—in material of war. "Unquestionably our allies have lost much of their material and especially in the Ukraine some of their best-organized forces of men" (Sunday Times, Sep. 28).

Yet, the more realistic attitude taken by the press last week has once more given way to the inculcation of optimism by implication. Timoshenko's counter-attacks, although they have nowhere been strong enough to be called a counter-offensive, have dominated the headlines. The effect is probably that the average Briton has no idea that the Russians have lost a very great battle in the Ukraine, and little suspicion that the relative lull is most likely due to the Germans clearing up the fresh territory they have captured and preparing for a new offensive. "I suppose the Germans will now reach Kharkov," says Critic in The New Statesman gloomily; "the Russians will feel its loss and destruction far more than that of Kiev."

Realistic Views

IN the quieter corners of the more sober organs of the press, the situation in Russia—and in the world-war generally—is represented as serious enough. We commend to our readers the articles by "A Student of War" which appear in the Telegraph every Monday: they do attempt an objective view. He says firmly: "After 14 weeks of the heaviest fighting, the situation has deteriorated more and more, and no-one can fail to be alive to the necessity of giving all the help we can." (Telegraph, Sep. 29). And he goes on to demonstrate how much Britain is already giving, and how little more she can do.

It should, in fine, be clear that we cannot use shipping for sending material to Russia and use it for other purposes, that we cannot maintain the supremacy in the air we look for while we send aircraft to Russia, and that we cannot overwhelm the armoured strength of Germany while we send the tanks to Russia.

The New Statesman (Sep. 27) has a positive fit of the blues. It has no faith in American production; and does not believe we can catch up even in 1943. "Two-thirds of Russian iron has already been lost; over half the

Lost

both in Germany itself and in Europe, and Hitler's racial ideology with its demand for Germanic domination. The former contains much that is of value, and that might, were it directed by a vision of a free, democratic, and spiritually diverse Europe, serve as a good starting-point to one of the most fruitful eras in the history of civilization.

A Britain that was really fitted for the role of leadership in Europe today would be alive to that situation and be ready to meet its demands. Britain's one chance of such leadership at this critical juncture lies in producing an adequate alternative to Hitler's new order in Europe. Such alternative must combine socialism within the separate nations, and an economic organization based on the conception of Europe operating as an economic unit.

Hitler has revolutionized the economic and social structure of Ger-

(Continued on page four)

Edited by "OBSERVER"

pig-iron is threatened and almost half the steel... The adequacy of our preparation and strength is relative to that of the Germans and it is not likely that it will ever be as relatively good as it is now."

German Losses

THE German losses, in men rather than material, must be very heavy. M. Maisky has said that they have lost one-third of their effectives; and it seems fairly well established that they are pressing their various "allies" to supply them with substantial military contingents—less for the purpose of front-line fighting than to relieve the German armies of occupation. But to what extent there has been a real weakening of the German war-machine, we are quite incompetent to say.

There is some evidence that acts of sabotage have increased in occupied territories. But these may be due rather to the belief that the German military machine should be overstrained than to the fact that it is. And more likely than either is that since Russia was involved in the war, the underground Communist organizations have resumed activity. Anyhow the replacement of von Neurath by Heydrich, Himmler's second-in-command, in Czecho-Slovakia, points to an increase of resistance, and also to an increase of brutal repression in that unhappy country.

Church versus Nazis

WE salute the courageous action of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Holland in following their refusal of the Sacraments to Catholic National-Socialists (July 25) by a point Pastoral protesting boldly against the treatment of the Church in Holland, and in particular against the virtual suppression of the Catholic Worker's Union. This organization which numbered about 200,000, has had its council dismissed and replaced by a National-Socialist Commissar with full powers. Thus, say the Dutch Bishops, it has become a National-Socialist organization, and the Sacraments will be refused to all Catholics who remain members of it.

In Belgium, also, it is announced that "all confessional associations of political, social or economic character which the Church has organized under the democratic regime must be abandoned" (Soir, quoted by the Catholic Herald, Sep. 12).

What of Russia

BUT while we abominate and utterly condemn this destruction by the National Socialists of religious social organizations independent of the State, which are indeed the chief safeguard against the development of a full totalitarianism, we equally abominate and condemn the hypocrisy of those who condone precisely the same persecution and suppression of religious associations when it is practised by Russia. Above all, when (as is frequently the case) these same people before

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Ersatz

PACIFISTS must come quickly to a deeper understanding of the economic problems which have driven the world into disaster. They are called upon to be an elite of intellectual detachment and understanding, as well as a nucleus of moral resistance to war and totalitarianism. The two needs are complementary. It is morally unsound to preach peace, unless we know what peace involves. We must be capable of detecting and exposing the sincere sophistries of such a document as the "Atlantic Charter." That they take in good men is no excuse for the pacifist being taken in by them. He has to be something more than a good man, namely, an understanding one; or his goodness will come to derision. We must fight our way out of the world of idealism, in which we are too apt to take refuge; out of that ambiguous atmosphere of privilege and illusion in which so much of British pacifism has been developed.

These thoughts, frequent enough, were aroused again by our reading the comments of a trade correspondent of *The Times* (Sep. 20) on the recent expansion of the great German chemical combine: I G Farben-Industrie. The correspondent points out that a great proportion of its profit (as acknowledged in its own balance sheet) was derived from Ersatz industries: that is, the manufacture of effective substitutes for previously imported commodities. Perhaps the most famous of these substitutes is Buna, or synthetic rubber. The trade correspondent adds these significant words:

Probably no German concern can be more seriously affected by the Roosevelt-Churchill charter which, by restoring international trade, will put uneconomic industries out of business.

What does "uneconomic" mean here? It means, incapable of making a profit when exposed to the full blast of free international competition. British agriculture, to take one example, is such an uneconomic industry. And, of course, if the "Atlantic Charter" really did mean the restoration of international free-trade, it would also mean that British agriculture would be destroyed all over again. But of course, the "Atlantic Charter" does not mean the restoration of international free-trade. The Americas, the Dominions, are committed as deeply as Germany itself to a policy of high protection. How many "uneconomic" industries in the USA would be put out of business if British or Japanese manufactured goods had free entry there!

The pretence of international free-trade is a pure humbug. Germany is no more wicked in making her own artificial rubber than we are in trying to make decent field-glasses, or developing the manufacture of petrol from coal. The one condition of genuine international free-trade is the economic unity of the world. Only in a world-federation, assured of equal justice and stable peace, can the component nations allow themselves to be dependent for vital necessities upon the rest of the world. Moreover, they must be sure of being able to get them quite irrespective of whether they can "pay for them" or not. The idea of universal free-trade

Religion Under Dictators

the war were denouncing Communism, and condoning Nazism, precisely in this matter of repressing religious liberty.

This politic reversal of judgment can only bring Christianity yet further in contempt. And we are glad to see that *The Christian News-Letter* (Sep. 24), though it entertains high hopes of some creative outcome from the association of Britain and Russia, says plainly:

The fanatical atheism and tyranny of Communism are a grave danger. There have been barbarities, persecutions, and cruelties on a greater scale than in Germany... These facts explain why Christian opinion in Switzerland, which has been strongly opposed to National Socialism, is nevertheless reported as tending to regard Germany's war against Russia as a fight for European civilization. This fact needs to be understood, however true it is that there could be no greater negation of the European tradition than Nazism.

"A Canard"

WHAT is the truth about the position of religion in Russia to-day? "The lovely tenor voice I heard chanting masses in Kiev Cathedral gave the lie to the story that religion has been stamped out of Soviet Russia" (*New Statesman*, Sep. 27). That of course proves nothing; neither does the much-publicized story of the 12,000 praying in Moscow's "great cathedral" for the success of the Russian armies. The Russian correspondent of *The Catholic Herald* (Sep. 12) calls it brutally a canard.

From personal knowledge we affirm that since the demolition of the only really large cathedral of Christ the Saviour, Moscow has no church which could contain even 2,000 worshippers. Thus the report is but a piece of propaganda intended for earnest but naive Christians in England and America.

As far as I can make out the facts, Russia and Germany are equally tyrannical in suppressing social organizations with a religious basis; while Germany is a good deal more lenient to the actual practice of the Christian cultus. The Germans do not demolish churches as the Russians have often done; but they suppress "the liberty of prophesying." In *Blackfriars* I lately read that in the last number of *Wer ist's?* (The German *Who's Who?*) Hitler, Adolf is put down as RC.

Iran

ONE hates to be cynical; but the news that Iran, with the benevolent help of Britain, is to be endowed with parliamentary and constitutional democracy does not waken in my heart the proper emotion of sympathy with a nation "rightly struggling to be free." One of my friends, who is a cynic, said that the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. would certainly find it easier to deal with a Persian parliament than it was with the late Shah. Capitalist finance always does find it easier to deal with parliaments. However, once again, there is no need of a far-fetched explanation. Military necessities called for the occupation of Iran; and the bestowal of parliamentary democracy was the best way of getting rid of the Shah who opposed it. But I am glad to see that Mr. Arthur Merton, (in the *Telegraph*, Sep. 22) has the decency to admit that the late Shah's achievement in the way of reform of every kind was remarkable. Here is his account of it:

No longer is the country dominated by a priestly caste or by feudal system which tended to perpetuate internecine quarrels.

It presents by contrast a united front under a strong central authority.

Education, technical and otherwise, has been enormously developed and schools opened everywhere.

The position of women has been vastly improved, and social reforms introduced which greatly benefit them and the race's future.

Roads, bridges, and irrigation works have been built, which, together with the enormous improvement of agriculture, have greatly enhanced the nation's economic life, though, of course, its financial organization leaves much to be desired.

Generally speaking the people's soul has been awakened, and they are far more nationally conscious than they were 20 years ago.

It cannot be disputed that all this has been due to the vision, personality and driving power of Riza Pahlavi.

But for him Iran today would still be a backward disorganized country, as it was in the days of the former Shahs.

It is indeed an outstanding example of what decision, faith and continuity of purpose can achieve in face of the most unpromising conditions.

But, unfortunately, the personal qualities of the Shah, "which made all that has been done in Iran possible, developed in the end a pathological condition in the mentality of the man which brought about his downfall." Mr. Merton explains that the pathological condition was a desire for personal possessions.

at a universal profit is an illogical and preposterous idea—dead as a door-nail. One day we may achieve the ideal which is hidden in this false clothing: true and disinterested world-exchange, so that the standard of life over all the globe is roughly the same.

It will, alas, take us generations, perhaps centuries, to reach this condition. In the meanwhile the best the world can do is to create, by fair means or foul, larger economic units, wherein the standard of life can be raised. The most vital of these larger economic units is Europe itself. And if the "Atlantic Charter" has no better purpose than to serve as a means for disrupting the economic unity imposed on Europe by the Germans it is doomed never to be realized.

It is curious that we heard nothing about this sad condition until Britain and Russia also developed a non-pathological desire to possess Iran.

Success via Sport

WE may take it for granted that the British-Russian treatment of Iran has not encouraged that Turkish sympathy with the British cause of which we hear so much. The regime of the deposed Shah was in all points similar to that of Kemal Attaturk in Turkey: a rigorous but socially progressive dictatorship. Any Turk who has his head screwed on will realize that if Turkey had been in the geographical—and geological—position of Iran, Britain would have treated her, or tried to treat her, in precisely the same fashion as she has treated Iran. And perhaps her new "ruler" would be seeking the same consolation as the new 22 year old Shah of Iran is reported to be seeking.

I believe in sport, not only because it makes healthy bodies, but because it forms character. You English owe much of your success in the world to devotion to sports. I look to the day when my fellow-countrymen will likewise make sport part of their daily life, (*Telegraph*, Sep. 29).

This is the only tangible item in the new programme of "democratic progress." It suggests that Shahpur Mohammed Riza has been well coached.

Peace - Mediation ?

THERE has been a stream of press-reports vaguely suggesting the visit to the Pope of Mr. Myron Taylor, the special American envoy to the Vatican, may produce some sort of peace-mediation. Probably it is in relation to these rumours that Marshal Petain expressed himself plainly in an interview (reported by *BUP* Sep. 29).

I am always ready to support President

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY:
(Continued from page one)

Roosevelt instantly in any initiative the United States may start. I know the Pope also wants peace. At the end of this war the United States, at the peak of her strength, could make a formidable contribution to the peace, always provided she stays out of the war and keeps her freedom of action.

England's relations with France have been a succession of psychological errors, for which England is to blame. I am pledged not to use our fleet, our planes, or our troops against England. Yet England attacked us and is still attacking. The sufferings imposed on Djibuti are inhuman, and our northern ports are being hammered into dust by the RAF.

Meanwhile, in spite of the propaganda reports, there is no solid indication that American opinion is more inclined to the "shooting war" than before. "Isolationism is cracking!" says a bold headline in the *News Chronicle* (Sep. 29). That may be true, provided we read it in the light of the Gallup poll indication that only 17 per cent. favour a declaration of war on Germany and Italy; less than at any time since the collapse of France. There are more ways than one of emerging from "isolationism." We may at least hope that the way of peace-mediation is chosen.

The Coming Problem

MOST of my readers will find themselves in agreement with Mr. H. G. Wells' words to the British Association on Sep. 27: "When this idiotic shapeliness war gives way to some equally idiotic and planless peace, we shall be confronted by a problem of young people without prospects, untrained for any thing but fighting—asking us: 'And what will you do with us now?'"

That is how the situation looks to the aware man, whether he be a pacifist or not; and that is the situation for which, so far as he can, the aware man must be preparing.

PENS WITHOUT POWER

by

H. P. FOWLER

IT may seem paradox that propaganda reached its meridian at a time when propaganda, as such, hardly existed.

It was in the spacious days of the nineteenth century when all things worked together for good and Britain, who had long out-distanced her competitors in the international treasure hunt, really seemed to have found the elixir of life. Without realizing it a parliamentary democracy had been evolved, while the constitutional monarchy was retained; an envious Europe scrambled to follow the British example in order that it too might share in the blessings of wealth and liberty which, it appeared, followed naturally in the wake of an elected parliament.

In due course Europe was to awaken from its beautiful dream but, for a time, the magic worked and hopes were high. Britannia ruled the waves and expansion was glorious. It was also the golden age of advertisement because the nation said what it believed and others believed what it said.

Since then propaganda has fallen on evil days. Edison and Marconi may be thought to bear some of the responsibility for that, for it was the astonishing technological development which they initiated that made the modern State with its propaganda machine a reality.

The nation ceased to be a thing of divers moods and many voices and became instead an achievement of unity; a monster of distortion and suppression. The Jeremiahs were banished or conveniently ignored. The task of propaganda became that of making the people believe what they knew to be untrue. The "best brains" were called in to advise, and the great, new problem was pawed over in every capital in Europe. But no solution was found.

THE NEW TECHNIQUE

Germany, who had never won renown for lightness of touch, seemed to be the first to master a new technique—as indeed she was. Every "organ of public enlightenment" was tuned to raise a horrible and unanimous scream about atrocities, in the mountains of Sudetenland or on the plains of the Vistula, which echoed all over the world. And because the world was more anxious to find the key to this power than to understand its significance, it was impotent to do anything except to listen with rapt attention. It wasn't that the people believed what they heard; they were merely fascinated by the technique.

This bastard science had long had a commercial application and, alongside the technological advance which made it possible, a crazy structure of advertising and salesmanship assumed increasing importance. The wheels of industry were fast becoming clog-

ged with unsold goods. Humanity had to be stimulated to absorb all manner of products so that the more efficient units of the industrial machine could keep operating.

The claim of advertisement that it made the products of industry available to the masses was, of course, unsound. The ultimate effect of the vast network of publicity was to enable those who could pay the ransom to develop a monopoly stranglehold which spread itself over the whole range of commodities.

The means had become the ends anyway, so that the generally accepted purpose of commerce was not to enrich humanity by the machine-age increase of goods, but rather to provide a livelihood for those who dealt in them. In this circumstance it wasn't surprising that the twin seducers of Advertising and Salesmanship quickly found house-room with a lady of easy virtue known as Progress. Not the goods themselves but the myth that could be woven about them became the way to get business.

MIRACLE THAT FAILED

From this stage it was a short step to the world of advertising fantasy with which we are all familiar, until as a reaction to the almost redemptive powers claimed for chemical concoctions and such-like, publicity men began to exploit the powers of understatement! But the essential had not changed: to persuade the mass-man to acquire what he could very well do without remained the primary purpose of the advertisers' efforts.

Nevertheless, even the spending of prodigious sums on sales promotion schemes didn't prevent casualties on the battlefields of commerce. John Citizen wasn't as easy to mislead as the pundits had reckoned. Although he made a lot of mistakes, wasted a lot of effort trying out super-super shaving creams and toothpastes, bought furniture that came unstuck, &c., as a general rule he didn't make the same mistake twice.

The prices of all goods were inflated beyond reason by this mad-marketing but good goods had a way of stealing the thunder of the most insistent millionaire advertisers. Despite the silly super-structure, a modicum of decent business remained. As in the world of politics, the miracle hadn't really worked; it only appeared to work, and Mrs. John Citizen placed her second order where the first one was satisfactorily fulfilled. The great problem of how to fool all the people all the time was still unsolved.

(To be continued)

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained, is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

RELIGION AND POLITICS

(S. Wales Area)

ONCE again last Saturday we were indebted to the Society of Friends for giving us the use of their Meeting House, this time in Cardiff. The local PPU group had made the arrangements for the conference and had invited delegates from all over the area. The fact that it was such a success was due in part to the enthusiastic response made by the members.

There were two sessions: in the afternoon, from 2.45 to 4.45, I spoke on Organization; and the evening meeting, from 6 to 8, when Dr. Alex Wood spoke on the deeper implications of our pledge to renounce war. Joyce Powell and Gwynfor Evans shared the duties of the chair and the arrangements of the meeting were in the hands of D. Lloyd Jones.

It was a very good conference and I think the best way of summarizing it is to pick out points which show how far we travelled and with what concrete results.

Finance. There was a general agreement that our future progress depended on the willingness of every individual to subscribe regularly. Dr. Wood asked for a minimum subscription of 3d. a day. The principle of the Nottingham Scheme method of collection was approved.

Isolated members. A new drive is to be made to get into touch with all the scattered membership in the area and to get them put in touch with groups. New groups will be formed wherever possible.

Inspiration. There is evidence of a new dynamic throughout the movement. This is a spiritual force coming from the individual and permeating the groups, regions, and areas. South Wales has shown a true appreciation of the need and desire for extending this with greater energy.

Politics. Alex Wood spoke of the desirability of keeping inside the political movements and building from within. A very great responsibility rests on the pacifist in politics.

Religion. The Malvern Conference and other instances of a change within the churches gives the line for renewed hope and determination.

The Area Committee was established and the winter begins with the promise of great things to come in South Wales. The synthesis between politics and religion is what we are seeking and the conference last Saturday was a proof that it can be found.

John Barclay

Oct. 4 GLASGOW: 2.0 p.m. Scottish Council. 5.30 p.m.: Stuart Morris, John Barclay.

Oct. 11 N. WALES—BANGOR: Area Conference. Speaker, John Barclay.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

So much fresh work is taking place in the groups these days that only a very small proportion of it can be noticed in this column. During a tour extending from September 19 to 28 I visited the following places—Evesham, Wolverhampton, Oldbury, Rhyl, Llandudno, Calway Bay, Swansea, Cardiff, and Bristol. Good meetings and enthusiastic ones at all places took my mind back to the early days in 1936 and it is more than encouraging.

Brighton Group. After a fairly quiet period during which, however, large and enthusiastic meetings were addressed by Stuart Morris, Roy Walker, and Vera Brittain, regular weekly meetings are being commenced. Each alternate one is to be devoted to the special needs of COs. A large semi-public meeting is to be addressed by Wilfred Wellock in October. The main activity of the past few months has been the advising and helping of COs, while two study circles are conducted regularly. The active membership of the group is now about 120.

J.B.

Chichester. At a meeting to be held in the Friends' Meeting House, at 3 p.m. on Sunday, C. W. Hope Gill will speak on "A Challenge to Pacifists Today."

Up The Compromisers!

says DAVID A. KENNEDY

THE tendency for pacifists, as members of a minority movement, is to be roped into all minority movements. Pacifists should be vegetarians—pacifists should be anti-vivisectionists—pacifists should be penal reformers, etc. There is no doubt that the drift from one minority opinion along the path of all minority opinions is an easy one.

It is difficult to see why a refusal on the part of men and women to bomb, burn, blind, or machine-gun large masses of other men and women should have to be the precursor of a spell of sandal-wearing or Mormonism. But the fact is that there is a tendency for pacifists to develop what Bertrand Russell called "a minority mind."

In nothing is this so evident as in any issue involving compulsion. National registration, fire-watching, industrial conscription, etc. have produced many admirable and often somewhat pathetic "last stands"—pathetic in their determination to make a stand somewhere. To make a stand is fine, yet the struggle for a minority movement is always one of keeping within striking distance of realism; and realism today is the active appreciation of relevance.

Relevance to me means that the days of complete defiance of compulsion are past. The assertion of the individual's right to become a law unto himself is the corollary of the industrialist's claim of freedom to exploit, and both belong to the expanding years of "laissez-faire" liberalism.

THE REAL ISSUE

When world markets have reached a stage of saturation, the issue is order or lack of order. Translated into present-day politics it is the juxtaposition of Hitler's new order and this country's policy of Balkanization.

Most pacifists are ready enough in affirming their regard for the "order" part of Germany's programme and equally ready in their condemnation of the "mailed fist" method. It is fit and proper that we should detest the brutality in Germany's method of "ordering," but that is not to say that a planned and ordered Europe can be bad without compulsion.

Industrial and economic order, in contrast to the chaos of the last twenty years, means the compelling of people to do what, from sheer habit, or custom, or cussedness, they might not do.

To imagine Europe's economy on a basis of perfect freedom is to imagine chaos. Lack of compulsion today means "black markets," "corners in pepper," etc. What has disturbed me of recent times is a wide sentiment of opposition to compulsion as such in the pacifist movement.

This is especially obvious in the instance of fire-watching. To disassociate oneself from the act of fire-watching because it is part of the war effort, is to be guilty of irrelevance to a human tragedy, since no amount of arguing will obscure the fact that fire-bombs are being dropped and that fire spreads like typhoid. To object to the element of compulsion involved in to place oneself in opposition to all that order and planning can mean in the modern world.

SUSPICION—AND BETRAYAL

Here it is that the "minority mind" is in danger of asserting itself in a deep-rooted suspicion that everything which the majority does must be evil. The fact of the matter is everything which the majority does is evil, since mass decisions, expressed in laws, are examples of what A. D. Lindsay describes as the imperfect morality of "my station and its duties." On the other hand to withdraw from all activities which are imperfect, on the grounds of an absolute morality, is to betray a world which is desperately struggling to achieve the slightly better rather than the completely bad.

I know that I shall bring down on my head a flood of correspondence from "righteous indignants," who will

hurl the accusation "compromiser" at me. Let them save their breath. I accept the epithet. I rejoice in it.

For compromise is not apostasy. I urge every PPU member never to deviate from the purpose for which the Union was born. To affirm their belief that modern warfare is the one great, overriding evil which can befall humanity, and never to prefer it to anything else. But compromise from an absolutist attitude to current problems, to an attempt to find a synthesis of practicability, is humanity's method of progress.

It is still difficult for us to realize just how grim is the social future ahead of us. But one thing is certain: the politics of absolute freedom is passed. The uncompromising pacifist is a glorious figure, with all the glory of "the last of the Mohicans," but an anachronism.

Hence I nail my colours to the mast—the rose pink of compromise. Let others spit on it if they dare. But I warn them that if they are accepting a social security, or industrial benefit, which is the result of compromise or compulsion, I shall not hold them guiltless; rather shall I castigate them for it.

With these remarks I put on my tin helmet (a mark of compromise) in preparation for the shower of literary shrapnel which will, in all probability descend on my head.

PAMPHLETS REVIEWED

World Recovery—The Case for Functional Co-operation by Stanley C. Farrer and William H. Marwick. Friends' Peace Committee, 4d.

"POST-WAR development," say the authors, "will depend on two fundamental factors—the machinery to be established and the dominant elements in human nature which will control the machinery." Their remarkable pamphlet is mainly concerned with the interaction between the human factor and the organizational factor.

The problem is briefly approached through historical examples. The United States of America and the British Commonwealth of Nations, both large units in which war is improbable, are examined; and what a relief it is to read a pacifist publication which recognizes that the bombing and cheating of black men is not the only feature of the Empire!

NOT BY WAR

But war claims its victories also, and the authors deny some of these claims. Liberty was not secured in England through the Civil War. Slavery was not the issue in the American Civil War, and the negro is not much better off for his incidental "liberation." Reactions in France and Russia to the attempts to achieve Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity by violence were inevitable.

They show too that the impermanence of the Versailles Treaty resulted not only from its shortcomings but from the very nature of a dictated settlement. In the same way the failure of the League of Nations is traced to the Sanctions Clauses of the Covenant, and this is contrasted with the success of the League commissions which had no sanctions behind them. Some current Federal Union schemes are subjected to similar criticism; they underestimate the economic problems, overestimate the efficacy of political machinery, and still mistakenly trust armed alliance.

FUNCTIONAL CO-OPERATION

World recovery, then, may be seen not in terms of an armed federal union, nor yet in a leap forward to direct world government. Progress can best be made by functional co-operation on the lines of the International Labour Office and similar experiments. There must be international commissions of reconstruction to repair the damaged cities, of transport, of raw materials, of international trade. Voluntary associations of an international character in educational, co-operative, scientific, and other fields must be encouraged. In this way there can be provided machinery in which the constructive

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND RELIGION?

FROM its 26th Annual Conference, held at Lakeside, Ohio, USA, September 5–7, the American Branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation cabled to the British Home Office, London the following message:

Six hundred participants Fellowship Reconciliation conference, Lakeside, Ohio, unanimously deplore action British Government removing Muriel Lester from American ship at Trinidad, holding her there past two weeks unspecified charges, stop her speaking this conference and subsequent meetings planned sixteen American cities.

This arbitrary interference freedom of speech and freedom of religion by a Government which is sending over innumerable emissaries to tell us Britain is fighting Hitler's denial of same freedom will shock multitude of freedom loving Americans.

Does Great Britain intend to hold Miss Lester in Trinidad in custody for duration of war?

—Arthur Swift, Chairman Fellowship Reconciliation.

A copy of the message was telegraphed to the British Ambassador in Washington, and to the United States Department of State. News of the message has been sent to 16 magazines and 38 individuals in 18 countries.

IN MEMORY OF "G.I."

To raise funds toward the building of a memorial school to George Lansbury a variety concert will be held at the London Palladium on Sunday.

Five acres of land at Abridge, Essex, have been presented to the George Lansbury Memorial Fund for the purpose, and £10,000 is now needed. Tickets may be obtained from the Palladium.

elements in human nature will be dominant.

Such is the argument of the pamphlet. It is all set down very simply in 28 pages, and you have absolutely no excuse for not buying and reading it at once! If there is a criticism to be made it is that the reader is left asking for more. A paragraph each on the Russian Revolution and the American Civil War is not enough. It is in scale in the pamphlet, of course; but will not the authors treat the same material at greater length, and give us a fat volume on these vital issues which they so persuasively set before us?

ROY WALKER



Freedom or Servitude? by Bob Edwards. ILP 2d.

This pamphlet is yet another attempt to recall the workers to the class struggle. The functions of trade unionism and the failure of the policy of collaboration adopted after the General Strike in 1926 are concisely summarized and, from this premise, the present controls of industry, repressive legislation, etc. are seen as levers in the hands of the ruling class. The remedy offered is workers' unity through a new industrial unionism.

One wishes that the writer had hunted some of the hares which his cry inevitably raises. No mention is made for instance of the huge middle class which is outside the 1% owning 60% of the private property, but which is indifferent to trade unionism. Nor is the problem of educating a new ruling class touched upon. And how will a working class which shrinks from internal strife even more, than from international war be persuaded to become revolutionary? No answer is given. The programme of immediate aims seems singularly un-revolutionary in the present surge toward collectivism.

There is interesting information in this pamphlet, and the pacifist will find it a good example of the hiatus in Left thought.

H. P. FOWLER

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BRITAIN'S LOST LEADERSHIP

(Continued from page one)

many, and set up machinery for the organization of Europe as an economic unit. What is wrong with both is the ideological conception behind them. The point I desire to stress is that it would be little short of madness to destroy blindly the economic side of this transformation, and that Britain ought to be applying her mind to the improvement and better use of the machinery which the Hitler regime has set up.

THE London Times of 5/7/41 contained this remarkable admission:

The charge against Hitler's new order is not that it has made a large part of the Continent into a single economic unit, but that it has created this unit on a basis not of free and equal co-operation, but of exploitation in the interests, and for the military purposes, of a single country.

That some new order is an essential condition of the future peace and prosperity of Europe few will now be found to contest.

The danger is that revulsion from Hitler's methods and achievements may, at the moment of his defeat, carry us back into the anarchy of a Europe divided against herself by a multiplicity of strategic and economic frontiers, and tempt us to renew the cardinal errors of 1919.

Mr. Noel-Baker informed the House of Commons in the recent debate on the MOI that

The most serious mistake is that so far we have not given a message of hope and reconstruction to the masses of the people to whom we speak. A Belgian who is not a politician but an officer, who arrived here from Brussels the other day, stated that everyone in Belgium was saying two things: First, that the Nazi regime was intolerable and must be ended, and second that they would not go back to the conditions that obtained before the war. In France, Poland, and Italy it is the same... I believe that much of our propaganda to Germany is absolutely sterile, because it carries no constructive hope of any kind...

In his recent County Hall speech Mr. Churchill hoped that the Nazi regime would be "torn to pieces by the German people themselves." They may, and probably will rise against Hitler one day, but not in order to yield a British victory, or on behalf of a Germany of a Europe over which Mr. Churchill might exercise control.

That revolution will probably be a struggle for power between the Communists and that section of the Nazi Party which is opposed to Hitler's racial ideology. The latter would stand for a bold policy of National Socialism at home and Hitler's new order in Europe, minus its Germanic domination and controlled by some sort of European Economic Council on which every State would be represented. What would be Britain's attitude to either of these alternatives? We do not know. Neither does anyone in Europe. That is why Britain is out of the leadership of Europe. Europe's belief is that the primary concern of capitalist Britain is still the possession of world financial and economic power and the maintenance of a class-based society.

Council's Ban on C.O.s

Enfield Urban Council are to bar conscientious objector from entering its civil defence services, "having regard to the probable detrimental effect on the present personnel," reported the London Evening Standard last Thursday.

A Ministry of Home Security circular received by the council stated that it would be in accordance with the Government's policy that local authorities should not refuse to accept as volunteers for civil defence people who previously, by reason of their conscientious objection were regarded as unsuitable candidates.

The Impulse to Dominate

by D. W. HARDING

This book deals with the psychological structure of war and peace. It traces the processes by which populations reluctantly acquiesce in war, and offers a psychological analysis of the increased social cohesion and the changes in moral outlook which war brings. Recent psychological work is called on to define an alternative to coercion, a radical conception of peace. 7s. 6d. net.

Send to 40 Museum Street, W.C.1. for list of books of interest to pacifists

ALLEN & UNWIN

First Case Tried At Quarter-Sessions

WHAT is believed to be the first case of a conscientious objector to be brought on indictment, instead of being dealt with summarily, is reported by the Press Service of the Central Board for C.O.s.

Fire-Watching Developments

Special Tribunals?—It has been suggested that Fire-watching, Essential Works, and similar cases should be withdrawn from Police Courts and made subject to special Courts, perhaps guided by the Munition Tribunals of the last war. The reason is to ensure that men of industrial knowledge and experience should be in charge. It is understood that Mr. Bevin was considering such a step some time ago, but that the TUC was against any such move.

Practical Unanimity.—The highest proportion of applications for exemption from the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Orders among the 70 boroughs where registrations were held recently was at Norwich, where 25,000 men registered and 24,750 applied for exemption. Of these 80 per cent. stated that they were already doing fire-watching, and about 10 per cent. pleaded medical unfitness.

On Tuesday the Evening Standard reported: "Eighty per cent. of the people who registered throughout the country are said to be claiming exemption on some justifiable ground."

Most of those who refused to register and wrote to the Town Clerk have now received replies. The tone of those communications varies greatly. Some threaten prosecution in default of immediate registration. Some request registration and hint at penalties. Some suggest that the man might register and apply to a Hardships Committee on the ground of conscience as a hardship. In the last case they add that there is no guarantee that any such application would be granted.

Fire-Watch Objectors Sentenced

D. Ralph Wilkie a member of King's Heath PPU group, Birmingham, was on September 23 sentenced by the Birmingham stipendiary to £3 fine or 21 days' imprisonment for refusing to fire-watch at his place of employment. He refused to pay the fine.

A correspondent believes that this is the first case of its kind in Birmingham.

Henry Annis Taylor, of Kingsbury, N.W., was sentenced at the Guildhall on Thursday last for refusing to report for fire-watching duties in the City of London. He said that as he considered fire-watching a branch of war operations he had no alternative.

Sir George Broadbridge: "Well, there is no exemption from civil defence duties on the ground of any conscientious scruple. You have pleaded guilty to two offences and for each you will go to prison for six weeks, the two terms to run consecutively."

In March last Mr. Taylor was fined for refusing to submit to medical examination.

Following Whittaker's case, it would appear that in City of London cases the authorities are taking two examples of failure to perform duty so that any plea of illness, inadvertence, or the like, may so far as possible be negated.

On September 25 Richard G. Paxton, secretary of the Newcastle district of the PPU, Donald Sutherland, local Peace News Organizer, and two others were summoned to appear before the justices at Newcastle-upon-Tyne for refusal to register under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1941, registrations having been held there some weeks ago. Each was fined £10 and one guinea costs, which were paid. All four had been unconditionally registered as C.O.s.

TRAINING SCHOOL

PPU members are reminded that applications have been invited for the Heys Farm Training School, and must be sent in at once if they are to be considered.

THE WORD

Edited by GUY A. ALDRED.

OCTOBER ISSUE NOW SELLING

Duke of Bedford states his Peace Policy in an open letter to his Socialist and Pacifist correspondents. Special article by him on another Labour Imperialist. Edith Cavell: Her monument and Call to Humanity: A Beautiful Illustration. Socialism and The Banks by F. W. Jowett. The Atlantic Charter by A. Ratcliffe. Prison System and Experiences of Conscientious Objectors and Socialists. Obedience to Conscience: Society of Friends' Manifesto. Richard Cavell Records. Breakdown of The State by C. H. Norman. Freethought Biography. F. W. Jowett, with portrait: a biography. Other features.

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NEWS OF C.O.s

"No Registration Unconditionally"

THE view that the National Service Act, 1941, in conjunction with other emergency legislation, had taken away his power to register a CO without condition, was expressed in a 1,400-word opinion by Judge Davies, chairman of the Southwark local tribunal, received by Mr. E. A. Eden, of Chelmsford, who is appealing against the tribunal's decision that he should be conditionally registered.

That this highly individual view of the law is not shared by other tribunals is shown (reports CBCO Press Service) by the fact that Ian Sutherland has recently been unconditionally registered and that Karlin Capper-Johnson (Secretary of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends) was last week given unconditional exemption by one of the London Divisions of the Appellate Tribunal.

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YOUNG WRITER desires room in pacifist or sympathetic household, in or near Richmond, Twickenham, or Kingston. —Box 951, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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ADVERTISEMENTS

LITERATURE &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practices of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

MEETINGS, &c.

AN OPEN MEETING and discussion on compulsion, October 4, 2 p.m. at National Trade Union Club (back of Leicester Square Tube). Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors. RECENT AMERICAN POETRY. Recital at PSB Office 8, Endsleigh Gardens, next Wednesday, 7.30 p.m. Organized by Youth Service League. All invited, admission free. Complete programme from 22, Seaford Road, N.11.

SITUATIONS VACANT

FRIENDS SCHOOL, Sibford, nr. Banbury. Good gardener (single) wanted to work under head gardener. Chiefly kitchen garden work. —Apply to the Headmaster.

HELPERS REQUIRED in Quaker residential nursery for evacuated children under five, in return for keep and pocket money. —Upwood Children's Home, Barnt Green, Nr Birmingham.

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WANTED—Secondhand copies Amundsen, South Pole; Peary, North Pole; Byrd, Little America. —Box 948 Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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